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thing in our constitutional jurisprudence as doctrine of civil rights at large, standing independent of other constitutional limitations or giving rise to rights born only out of the personal predilections of judges as to what is good. And it should further be observed that our federalism not only tolerates, but encourages, differences between Federal and State protection of individual rights, so long as the differing policies alike are founded in reason and do not run afoul of dictates of fundamental fairness.

It does not derogate from steadfastness to the concept of developing constitutionalism in the field of civil rights—even as we must solve by orderly constitutional processes alone the great question of racial equality before the law—to insist upon principled constitutionalism which does not proceed by eroding the true fundamentals of federalism and the separation of powers. To assert the contrary is in effect to urge that the Bill of Rights and cognate amendments to the Constitution be extended so as to become the masters, not the servants, of the principles of government that have served the cause of free society in this country so well.

We cannot take these things for granted in an age when the validity of established processes of our system is increasingly being called into question. No higher duty rests upon lawyers—by their training made "ready to aid in the shaping and application of those wise restraints that make men free"¹—than to maintain unimpaired the firm foundations on which ordered liberty in this land has been built. The memorial we dedicate today will serve as a continuing reminder of that obligation.

CAPABILITY OF RADAR IN NORTH VIETNAM

(Mr. STINSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. STINSON. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable controversy about the retaliatory attack by U.S. aircraft against the bases in North Vietnam. I believe it is essential that we determine what is to be our policy in the future.

Mr. McNamara has said that the enemy picked up our aircraft just as soon as they left our aircraft carriers. An admiral has said that this was not true.

I doubt very much if the North Vietnamese have the capability of picking up low-flying American aircraft at the range of several hundred miles. Therefore, I have written a letter to the Secretary of Defense requesting that the Secretary of Defense give a demonstration to me and to other interested Members of Congress to determine if it is indeed possible for United States-manufactured radar to pick up aircraft flying at low levels at a range of several hundred miles.

I am going to include a copy of this letter in the RECORD. I shall be eagerly awaiting a reply from the Secretary of Defense.

The letter referred to is as follows:

Dear Mr. McNAMARA: In the last few weeks there has been considerable controversy over whether or not our airplanes which attacked North Vietnam were picked up by the North Vietnamese radar system before the President's TV announcement. Having been familiar with the operation of the Navy's

radar while serving as an operations officer several years ago, I find it difficult to believe that a low-flying airplane could be detected at a range of several hundred miles. I would assume that if we wanted our airplanes to approach their target undetected, that they would fly at an altitude of less than a hundred feet.

The episode of a few months ago when a helicopter flew from Cuba to the United States undetected by our radar would indicate that it is not possible for us to pick up low-flying objects.

I would like to have a demonstration by the Department of Defense of the capability of U.S. radar. I would particularly like to see our radar pick up an aircraft flying at less than 100 feet over the water at a range of several hundred miles. I am sure that several other Members of Congress would also like to see such a demonstration.

Since our equipment should be superior to that of the North Vietnamese, the demonstration should serve the purpose of indicating whether or not this is possible.

Yours very truly,

BILL STINSON,
Representative to Congress.

THE CHURCHES AND MISSISSIPPI

(Mrs. GREEN of Oregon (at the request of Mr. KASTENMEIER), was given permission to extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Century carries in its July 15 issue an article by a young Presbyterian minister, Stephen C. Rose, entitled "The Churches and Mississippi." Reverend Rose writes lucidly and informatively about the orientation center activities at Oxford, Ohio, where students were prepared for the 1964 Mississippi summer project. I think one sentence in the article sums up the tenor of the summer project: "It is a concrete involvement in an age when too much is being said about the prevalence of apathy."

Mr. Speaker, I ask that the article follow at this point in my remarks:

THE CHURCHES AND MISSISSIPPI

OXFORD, OHIO.—My interviews with students and leaders of the Mississippi summer project at their orientation center here have left me with an impression very different from that conveyed to readers by the crisis-laden headlines in the press. First of all, it must be said that the students here, and the ones who have preceded them to Mississippi to help in registration of Negro voters, are neither irresponsible, fanatic nor immature. If any spirit could be said to dominate them, it is that of the Peace Corps—a sense of genuine purpose, of commitment to social ideals. But there is a difference. These young people—in all, 800 are engaged in the project—are aware of the potential danger they face. They recognize the irony in the fact that the swamps of Mississippi hold more danger for them than is faced by the Peace Corps volunteers in the jungles of Africa.

The students I talked with made no attempt to hide their fears, but neither did they flinch before them. In two weeklong sessions they had been told they could not expect the security, the comfort, even the three square meals a day to which they had been accustomed. Said one, "If I had only beatings to fear I could turn around and go home. But if it's so bad down there that people are getting killed, I must go."

There was no pose of the martyr in the students' comments. The majority described their motivation in political terms, considering the almost insurmountable diffi-

culty Mississippi's Negroes encounter in trying to register at the polls ample reason for their involvement. However, among the volunteers a substantial number have found their motivation in religion. The Reverend Tom Wahman, of New York City, said he hopes to attend services in a white Mississippi church. He explained: "I would tell the congregation that I am afraid, afraid for Mississippi, afraid for the Nation, for myself. Perhaps through mutual recognition of common fears reconciliation could begin to take place."

I arrived in Oxford just as news came that three civil rights workers were missing in Mississippi. Immediately about half the students and staff workers joined in a voluntary service of worship. The strains of "We Are Climbing Jacob's Ladder" were followed by those of the freedom movement's anthem, "We Shall Overcome." Although I am one of those who have been critical of the failure of northerners to spell out their religious motivation for going to work for racial justice in the South, I could not help feeling that participation here in what Paul Tillich calls the kairos, the moment of God's activity in history, covers a multitude of theological illiteracies. There was something considerably more stirring in this assembly of the committed than in the language of those who sit in their offices bemoaning the absence of theological clarity.

One aspect of the Mississippi summer project and of the forthcoming delta ministry leads me to believe that we are witnessing today the church's most responsible involvement yet in the South's racial crisis. That is the role being played by the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race. In less than a year of operation the commission has achieved much. Robert Spike, its executive director, has assembled a number of bright younger ministers and laymen who seem uneasy unless they are in the thick of things. For the first time in my memory, I feel that the churches are exercising determinative leadership in the field of civil rights—in working for passage of the civil rights bill and in seeking to mobilize opinion and action within their own doors.

It is the national council commission that has made these orientation sessions at Oxford possible. The drive to enlist college students to work this summer in Mississippi was initiated late in 1963 by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a coalition of Mississippi rights groups. The NCC commission did not recruit students for the project, but it recommended that those who were recruited should be given thorough training before going to Mississippi. The recommendation was accepted, and the commission found a site.

It is intended that the students' activities will be limited to setting up community centers and freedom schools and helping Negroes register. At Oxford the training is not carried out in anticipation of direct action demonstrations. The implication in a recent Chicago Tribune editorial that the students are being trained to fall off lunch counter stools is completely without basis in fact. They are, however, trained in the art of nonviolent self-protection in the face of unprovoked violence—something entirely different from provoking violence.

Without in any way denigrating the responsibility being exerted by the civil rights groups at work in Mississippi, I would suggest that participation by the national council's commission on religion and race has made a tangible difference in how one views the project. For although the NCC does not claim to represent all of Protestants, it does represent enough of the Protestant community to demonstrate a tangible moral commitment in Mississippi.

In addition to setting up the orientation sessions at Oxford (in cooperation with COFO), the national council is committed

¹ The quoted language is that used by Harvard University in the conferring of law degrees.

to long-term involvement in the Mississippi situation through what is to be called the delta ministry, a project which will get underway this fall with active cooperation from the World Council of Churches. (See editorial in the May 20, Century, page 660.)

The delta region of Mississippi constitutes one of the Nation's worst pockets of poverty. Illiteracy and the general decline of rural life have left it a desolate wasteland occupied by impoverished sharecroppers among whom mutual racial suspicion runs high. The delta ministry will seek to aid the people of the area through direct relief, literacy classes, and self-help projects; through efforts to foster reconciliation between whites and Negroes; and through the mobilizing of technical skills, scientific knowledge, economic resources, and public opinion to provide an adequate base for livelihood.

The ministry is aimed at improving the condition of the poor white as well as that of the poor Negro. Since its fundamental aim is to help upgrade a region through private enterprise, it is hard to believe that the project will be entirely unacceptable to Mississippians. Involvement of the World Council of Churches in the program guarantees that participating on the staff will be veterans seasoned by experience in other situations of conflict—Algeria, for instance.

A foreshadowing of the attempt at reconciliation to be made by the delta ministry is the effort (so far given little publicity) by a group made up mostly of native southerners to interpret the racial revolution to the white community. The program demonstrates the fact that despite the numerous reasons COFO (and the NCC) have for distrusting Mississippi's white populace, they view the State's problems with a compassionate eye.

There are in Mississippi the silent moderates alongside the racial extremists. And between the two groups are both whites and Negroes who simply accept the status quo without question. Members of the white community—both the moderates and those who silently acquiesce in extremist terrorism—deserve the chance to speak out for the best in Mississippi without fear of intimidation. The task is to free both white Mississippi and black Mississippi.

Offensive though they may be to the southerner, the National Council of Churches and those northern clergymen who have gone independently to Mississippi have succeeded in adding a third dimension to the struggle within the state. For it is not just a struggle to upgrade opportunities and gain the vote for Negroes. It is an attempt to redeem and reconcile the entire populace of the State. At its best it is an effort to empathize with Mississippi moderates and, working with them, to seek to do what cannot be done without what one southern pastor has called "the resources and commitment that went into the New Deal."

Much more will be said about Mississippi in the days to come. But at this point it is helpful to understand that the present "entry" into the State is neither irresponsible nor fly-by-night in nature. It is a concrete involvement in an age when too much is being said about the prevalence of apathy. It is an undertaking in which any member of a Protestant church should be ashamed not to be involved.

TRIBUTE TO WALTER BESTERMAN

(Mr. CHELF asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Speaker, it is with a sense of pride that I mention today the long association I have had with Walter Besterman, counsel to the House

Immigration and Nationality Subcommittee, and call attention to the impressive record he has made in that capacity.

His work with the subcommittee has made us all proud of him as an American citizen. His imminent departure from this place gives cause for deep regret. However, our loss is the gain of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration in Geneva, where he will be its Deputy Director.

I met Walter first in 1945 and made my first trip with him to inspect displaced persons camps in 1947. After that time, I made a number of trips with him and have always found that his superb linguistic ability in the speaking and understanding of so many languages to be an invaluable asset in getting to the very essence of the griefs, the heartaches, and the problems of the displaced persons, escapees, and refugees. In this way, it has been possible to learn what was on the minds and in the hearts of these poor unfortunates in a much more real and meaningful way than would have been possible had we been solely dependent upon routine reports and interpretations. To travel with Walter through those areas was to get to know, in a very real sense, the people, and the plight of those who were deprived of their freedoms by totalitarian powers. This has been a tremendous help to me and has stood me in good stead in my work on this subcommittee.

Mr. Besterman was no stranger to the fate of these peoples, for he and his family had, earlier, literally escaped with their lives, just ahead of the gun squads at the border. It was through my early association with him and his fine family that I was able to appreciate and understand the situation facing all of those who were forced to flee from their homelands in order to be free.

His legal background and great knowledge in the field of immigration and nationality legislation has been of incalculable benefit to our subcommittee. Walter has the rare ability to grasp very quickly the full intent, purpose and significance of situations. In drafting legislation, his insight enables him to detect immediately any latent meaning of legislative phrasing which might conceivably be misconstrued or interpreted as being confusing or ambiguous.

He is an honorable, dedicated, sincere, perceptive man with the good fortune of possessing a keen mind and a splendid judicial temperament. He is a thoroughly capable servant of the American people whom he has served so long and so well through his devoted efforts on our subcommittee. I could not let him leave this place where he has made such a valuable contribution, where he has grown and matured as an American citizen, dedicated in purpose, and faithful and diligent in duty, without calling to your attention this remarkable record of Walter Besterman.

As he departs from us, he leaves behind him a huge reservoir of good will and highest esteem, a host of friends who have warm and wonderful memories of association with him, and an outstanding record of achievement in his specialized capacity which will redound to his

everlasting credit. Our fervent best wishes go with him to his new field of endeavor where his particular talents and abilities and his wealth of experience will enable him to continue his useful and matchless service. In addition to his many and varied talents—he is one nice guy.

CONGRESS SHOULD FULLY BACK THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS IN THEIR STAND ON LOW- AND MODERATE-INCOME HOUSING IN THE SOUTHWEST URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL, AND AMEND THE LAW TO INSURE SUCH HOUSING

(Mr. WIDNALL (at the request of Mr. Bow) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I have been deeply disturbed, as are other Members of the Congress on both sides of the aisle, with the emphasis on luxury housing in the Federal urban renewal program.

The Washington, D.C., Post, in an editorial on May 30, 1964, pointed out that a 560-acre urban renewal project in the Nation's Capital, which started out in 1953 to provide housing at \$17 a room or less, ended up providing only luxury housing.

I include this very pointed and factual editorial at this point in my remarks:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 30, 1964]

THE LAST FOUR ACRES

When slums are razed and new houses built, who is to live in them? Ought it be the families of small means, who are cruelly squeezed by the city's housing shortages? Or ought it be the rich, whose wealth and leadership the city needs to attract back from the suburbs?

When the city first approached the massive Southwest project, the Redevelopment Land Agency commissioned two studies on the character of the new community there. In one of them the eminent Harland Bartholomew said that Southwest "should be redeveloped predominantly as a moderate- to low-income residence area"; he believed that the stylish and prosperous could be induced back to Southwest only with the greatest difficulty and in the smallest numbers. The other study was written by two local architects, Cloethiel Woodward Smith and Louis Justement, who urged an audacious and sweeping plan to change the whole atmosphere of Southwest radically, and to set such a brilliant standard of design that it might eventually influence the reconstruction of all central Washington. Mrs. Smith and Mr. Justement were right and, as the project evolved, it carried out their theory. Their victory has been rather too complete.

In 1953, the question was whether there would be a place in Southwest for families of high income. Today the question is whether there will be any place for anyone else. In 1953, the plan required 40 percent of the new housing to be rented for \$17 a room or less. Today, as it has worked out, the cheapest home is a one-room efficiency apartment for \$99 a month, and the cheapest three-bedroom apartment costs \$230 not including utility bills.

Not one apartment in Southwest is within the reach of a family of average income. Symbolic of the city itself, there is nothing between the expensive housing in the re-